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FOR COM FROM STATE  
PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING MESSAGE IMMEDIATE FOR SEC KISSINGER:  
FROM AMB MOYNIHAN

1. WE HAVE JUST BEEN TOLD OF YOUR APPROVAL OF THE LINKAGE SCENARIO WITH RESPECT TO THE VIETNAMESE APPLICATIONS FOR UN MEMBERSHIP AND ARE MOVING IMMEDIATELY TO CARRY OUT OUR SEVERAL ASSIGNMENTS. FIRST WE WILL SEE THE RUSSIANS AND TELL THEM THAT IF THEY CAN'T SUPPORT SOUTH KOREA'S APPLICATION. WE BELIEVE THE BEST SOLUTION FOR THE MOMENT WOULD BE FOR THE VIETNAMS TO LEAVE THEIR APPLICATIONS STANDING, BUT NOT TO PRESS FOR EARLY CONSIDERATION. IN THE MEANTIME IT WAS RECOMMENDED THAT YOU TELL GROMYKO WHAT WE ARE DOING HERE, AND THE IMPORTANCE YOU ATTACH TO THIS MATTER.

2. IT IS HARD TO IMAGINE THAT YOU WILL PREVAIL, BUT THEN YOU HAVE DONE SOME UNIMAGINABLE THINGS WITH THE RUSSIANS IN THE PAST. IF THEY TURN US DOWN, HOWEVER, I DREAD WHAT WILL FOLLOW. I HAVE NOT MUCH TO ADD TO MY FIRST CABLE, BUT LARRY EAGLEBURGER ENCOURAGES ME TO STATE THE ARGUMENT ONCE MORE.

3. EVERY EVENT OF THE PAST WEEK CONFIRMS OUR ORIGINAL JUDGMENT THAT THERE WILL BE A DEVASTATINGLY NEGATIVE REACTION AROUND HERE. WE HAVE SAID FIRST THAT WE FEARED WE WOULD HAVE NO SUPPORT WHATEVER FROM OUR FRIENDS IN LINKING KOREAN ADMISSION TO THAT OF THE VIETNAMS. THIS MORNING WE LEARN FROM TOKYO THAT THE JAPANESE WOULD FIND THIS "IMPOSSIBLE." WE DO NOT SEE A SINGLE COUNTRY (SAVE POSSIBLY COSTA RICA) ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL VOTING WITH US AGAINST ADMITTING THE VIETNAMS. SECOND, WE SAID WE WOULD BE SEEN TO ACT EITHER ILLEGALLY OR INDEFENSIBLY OR BOTH, LARGELY AT OUR INSTIGATION. THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE IN 1947 HELD THAT NO STATE IS JURIDICALLY ENTITLED TO MAKE THE KIND OF LINKAGE WE WOULD IN FACT BE DEMANDING. IN THAT YEAR WE PROPOSED THE ELIMINATION OF THE VETO IN VOTING ON MEMBERSHIP APPLICATIONS. IN 1949 JOHN SHERMAN COOPER ANNOUNCED THAT WE, AT ALL EVENTS, WOULD NEVER VETO A MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION. THIS WOULD THEN BE THE FIRST TIME WE SHALL HAVE DONE SO.

*Hogwash. I think we should absolutely refuse anything but a package deal.*  
to

*[Attached to 5 cover telegram from Moynihan for HAK, 1 Aug 1975]*

4. IN ANY EVENT, OUR ACTION WILL BE SEEN AS INDEFENSIBLE. YESTERDAY THE AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR BROUGHT UP THE SUBJECT ON HIS OWN AND ALL BUT PLEADED WITH US NOT TO DO IT, SAYING IT WOULD DESTROY OUR POSITION ON UNIVERSABILITY, AND ALL BUT DOOM ISRAEL TO SUSPENSION, WITH WHAT WOULD FOLLOW FROM THAT. THERE HAS BEEN A GENUINE FEELING AROUND HERE THAT AT LAST WE WERE TAKING THE INITIATIVE, STANDING UP FOR WHAT WE BELIEVE, AND ALSO MOVING ON THINGS THAT MATTER TO OTHERS. YOU HAVE NEVER HAD A SPEECH READ AS CAREFULLY AS THE MILWAUKEE SPEECH HAS BEEN READ HERE. TO BLOCK THE VIETNAMS WOULD BE SEEN AS THE END OF ANY SUCH NEW AND FRESH APPROACH TO THE MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS. BUT TO LET THE VIETNAMES IN AND THEN RAISE CONTINUOUS HELL ABOUT THE EXCLUSION OF SOUTH KOREA WOULD BE SEEN AS ENTIRELY CONSISTENT. IT IS A GRIEVANCE WE WOULD HAVE, AND OTHER WOULD HAVE TO EXPLAIN.

5. WHICHEVER WAY IT GOES, WE WILL MAKE THE BEST CASE WE CAN, BUT I AM UTTERLY CONVINCED, AS IS EVERY POLITICAL OFFICER IN THIS MISSION, THAT TO VETO THE VIETNAMESE WOULD SIGNAL ALL OUT WAR WITH THE NONALIGNED. (FOR WHAT IT IS WORTH THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARRIVED MAKING QUITE FRIENDLY SOUNDS, BUT SIGNIFICANTLY, THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARE STAYING WITH THE CUBANS AND EVIDENTLY LOOKING TO THE ALGERIANS FOR GUIDANCE.) IT IS NOT A WAR WE CAN WIN ON THIS TERRAIN. WE WILL LOSE, AND THERE WILL BE CONSEQUENCES OF THAT LOSS, NOT LEAST FOR THE KOREANS, AT THIS MOMENT THERE IS AT LEAST SOME CHANGE THAT WE CAN GET OUR RESOLUTION THROUGH THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY CALLING FOR AN ORDERLY SUCCESSION OF COMMAND, WHILST HAULING DOWN THE UNITED NATIONS FLAG. IN THE ATMOSPHERE THAT WILL FOLLOW A VIETNAMESE VETO THERE WOULD BE NO CHANCE FOR SUCH A RESOLUTION. TO THE CONTRARY, THE GNERAL ASSEMBLY WILL CALL FOR THE COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN FORCES. SOUTH KOREA WILL COMMENCE TO BE A NATION HELD TO BE IN VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL MANDATES. THIS WILL BE A FURTHER LOSS AND THERE WILL BE CONSEQUENCES OF THAT, TOO.

6. BUT MOSTLY I SAY TO YOU THERE SHOULD BE A RELEASE OF AMERICAN ENERGIES IN THIS PLACE. A VETO WOULD MOVE US YET ANOTHER DEGREE IN THE DIRECTION OF IMMOBILIZED AND INEFFECTUAL HOSTILITY. OUR SCENARIO HAS US EXPLAINING TO THE RUSSIANS THAT AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION TOWARD THE UN WOULD BE "NEGATIVELY AFFECTED" BY THE ADMISSION OF THE TWO VIETNAMS AND THE EXCLUSION OF SOUTH KOREA. MAYBE SO, BUT YOU AND I KNOW THAT THE OPINION THAT MATTERS IN THE COUNTRY WILL, TO THE CONTRARY, ASSERT THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS STILL FIGHTING THE VIETNAM WAR. IRRATIONAL, UNJUST, BUT THAT IS THE WAY THE GAME IS PLAYED IN WASHINGTON, IS IT NOT?

WARM REGARDS

PAY MOYNIHAN

SSO NOTE: DELIVER IMMEDIATELY UPON RECEIPT.

BT

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